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## HYLOGRAPHIA

### (*De Administrando Imperio*, 29/280)

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Izvorni znanstveni rad  
*Original scientific paper*  
 Primljen / Received: 15. 1. 2012.  
 Prihvaćen / Accepted: 20. 6. 2012.  
 UDK: 75.021.33-035.3:81'373.46

*The church of St. Anastasia in Zadar is said to be entirely covered in ancient hylographia in Porphyrogenitus' De administrando imperio. It is not entirely clear which technique is being used here, nor which portion of the church is being referred to. For this reason past views on the subject are examined, as well as original information. Finally, precedence is given to the encaustic technique, with which the walls of churches would be decorated, and perhaps even their ceilings; a broader meaning of the word is not eliminated, which would include painting techniques different from mosaic. The question of the meaning of the term archaios is discussed as well, which, by analogy with its other uses in the text, means 'old', and not 'old-fashioned'.*

Keywords: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, De Administrando Imperio, Zadar, St. Anastasia, hylographia, encaustic, archaios

#### INTRODUCTION<sup>1</sup>

Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus or, more likely, one of his sources, describes five of Dalmatia's most important cities in the *De Administrando Imperio*. All of his descriptions share the same pattern: a note about the meaning of a town's name is given first, next a geographical or architectural description, and finally records and descriptions of important churches, while frequent mention is made of facts pertaining to a town's spiritual life. In this manner the Emperor describes two churches in Zadar: the Church of the Holy Trinity (now known as the Church of St Donatus) and the Cathedral Church of St Anastasia. The Church of St Anastasia is outlined in a simple sketch: it is a basilica, very similar to the Church of the Virgin Chalkoprataia at Constantinople;<sup>2</sup> it has two-colour columns and is entirely painted in ancient *hylographia*, while its floor mosaics are more beautiful than all of these.<sup>3</sup> In this paper we are concerned with what the term *hylographia* means and what was painted in this technique. We shall begin with a summary of translations and commentaries on this particular section of the text.

#### TRANSLATIONS AND COMMENTARIES

Johannes Meursius was the first to publish this text, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and he translated the sentence about Zadar Cathedral as follows: *Sanctae vero Anastasiae templum cursuale est, simile illi quod in Chalcopratiis, et columnas habet prasinis atque albas, sculptura vetusta, pauimentum mirifice tessellatum*.<sup>4</sup> From his commentary it can be concluded that Meursius misread the word *hylographia* as *hēlographia*, a word not found in the manuscript, which he suggested should be read as *stēlographia*.<sup>5</sup> This is the reason why in his translation he uses the word *sculptura*, which does not appear in any other edition. Moreover, his translation is too loose: he omitted the participle *eikonismenos* ('painted') and the adjective *holos* ('entire').

Another translation of the *De Administrando Imperio* was published in the eighteenth century by Anselmo Banduri, an erudite Byzantologist from Dubrovnik, and the relevant translated section reads: *...totumque (sc. templum) ornatum est in figuris pictura vetusta elaboratis*.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that Banduri translated the term

*hylographia* with one word - *pictura*, 'the art of painting, painting' - as it is in Greek, which makes it evident that the most important aspect of the term is the technique of painting, rather than the product (that is paintings), which is nonetheless implied. Banduri translated the Greek participle *eikonismenos* ('painted') into the phrase *ornatum in figuris* ('decorated with figures'), which is accurate as the verb *eikonizō* implies figural representation.<sup>7</sup> However, the word *pictura* itself does not provide any information about which technique is in question. Only in the commentary does Banduri explain that Greek authors differentiated between two main pictorial techniques, mosaic and *hylographia*, the latter made by using 'wax and colours on any material.' For a more detailed description of the technique, Banduri refers the reader to Du Cange's *Glossary*.<sup>8</sup>

In the early twentieth century Nikola Tomašić translated Porphyrogenitus' text into Croatian and his translation of this sentence reads: 'with icons painted in the old style.'<sup>9</sup> By omitting the word 'entire' from his translation of the phrase, Tomašić, like Meursius, also saw *hylographia* as denoting a particular type of painting and, in doing so, given that icons are regularly painted on wood, perhaps gave the original text a more narrow meaning than the one it actually has. Ferdo Šišić, on the other hand, explicitly stated that 'the church of St Anastasia (...) is entirely painted with ancient paintings on wood.'<sup>10</sup>

R. J. H. Jenkins, one of the best modern experts on Constantine's work, translated this passage in the following manner: 'The church of St Anastasia is (...) all decorated with encaustic pictures in the antique style.'<sup>11</sup> Only Jenkins mentions the encaustic technique in relation to the meaning of the term *hylographia*. In the commentary he approximates Tomašić and Šišić by explaining that 'The word means icon-paintings on wood, as distinct from mosaics' and referring to Banduri.<sup>12</sup> However, Banduri made a distinction by pointing out that these were paintings in colour and wax on *any* base.

In the second half of the twentieth century, translators decided on the broadest sense of the word - Božidar Ferjančić translated it as: 'entirely and brightly painted with old pictures',<sup>13</sup> Mate Suić's as: 'entirely decorated with paintings in the old style',<sup>14</sup> while Jovan Martinović's translation is: 'with paintings in the old style'.<sup>15</sup>

The English translation of our Croatian translation ['entirely pictured in ancient wood carving (*xylography*)'], from around ten years ago, is in fact the

result of the translator's misinterpretation of our original text - the Croatian word 'drvopis' and 'pisati' should have been translated as 'writing' or 'drawing/painting', rather than 'carving'.<sup>16</sup> In our translation, the first part of the compound ('drvo-') stands for our view of the meaning of the Greek *hylo-* as also referring to the base of the painting; nonetheless, in the commentary, we left the question of what *hylographia* actually is open.<sup>17</sup>

With the exception of Meursius, translators have generally opted for either a more narrow meaning of the word *hylographia* ('encaustic painting', 'icons') or for a broader one ('pictures', 'paintings') which therefore refers to all painting that is not mosaic.

However, Nikola Jakšić has recently published a paper in which he suggests a very enticing theory about the nature of *hylographia*.<sup>18</sup> He correctly assumes that the *hylographia* mentioned in the *De Administrando Imperio* would have had to be of considerable importance in order to have been mentioned at all in connection with the mosaics in the Cathedral of St Anastasia.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it is unlikely that this *hylographia* referred to small- or medium-sized icons. Instead, it is more likely that it referred to a large, important or striking feature in the Cathedral. Jakšić suggests that *hylographia* might refer to a painted, wooden ceiling or to framework beams. According to him, this opinion is strengthened by the fact that the author of the *De Administrando Imperio* seems to be taking in a view of the Cathedral from the top to the bottom; hence the *hylographia* would be something positioned at a greater height. Jakšić, however, neglects the order of the description in the text, which mentions the columns first, then the *hylographia*, and finally the floor. Since the columns stand on the Cathedral's ground level, the *hylographia*, according to this interpretation, cannot refer to wooden beams which would have been found above the columns. Furthermore, neither does Jakšić's interpretation of the adjective *holos* ('entire/whole') comply with this interpretation which, in our opinion, denotes a horizontal register: the walls of the Cathedral which *might* include the ceiling or framework beams. Since Porphyrogenitus specifically mentions the floor, it seems likely that he would have also mentioned the ceiling or the beams if there had been such elements. However, what he did mention was that it was *entirely* painted.

Jakšić does allow the possible interpretation of *hylographia* as mural paintings, but the discovery of decorated wooden beams in the rotunda of Holy Trinity at Zadar, adjacent to the Cathedral St

Anastasia, encouraged him to interpret the word as referring to painted or decorated wooden beams or a wooden ceiling.<sup>20</sup> Although Jakšić offers an enticing argument, we believe that his equating of *hylographia* with wooden beams is not a very plausible solution. The reason for this lies in the fact that only one end of each of the aforementioned beams was decorated,<sup>21</sup> but also because it is certain that the beams were placed in such a way that their ends were visible from the outside, as overhanging eaves.<sup>22</sup> These beams, however, do provide evidence about the practice of carving and painting of roof beams in early medieval Zadar.

What, then, was the *hylographia*?

## SOURCES

### *Kerocytyos graphe*

To the extent of our knowledge, Du Cange's scholarship is the most thorough in its citing of primary sources.<sup>23</sup> He compiled a veritable treatise on the technique of *hylographia*. Nonetheless, it is interesting that he does not discuss the meaning of the word under the entry *hylographia*, but, instead, prefers to do so in the entry for *kerocytyos graphe* ('painting with molten wax'). In reality, this technique is very old and is mentioned as early as Plato in the *Timaeus*.<sup>24</sup> Du Cange, however, begins with Pliny who describes it as *pictura, quae fit resolutis igni ceris, cum penicillo* ('painting which is made with wax melted with fire and a brush').<sup>25</sup> According to this Roman encyclopaedist, the painting process begins without a paintbrush, which is what Du Cange believes encaustic painting is in the strictest sense. The word encaustic itself, as well as the technique, was borrowed by the Romans from the Greeks. In the meanwhile, the Greeks themselves began to use a different term, *kerocytyos graphe* ('painting with molten wax'); this can be seen in later writers in particular and the erudite Du Cange gives examples of late antique and early medieval Greek theologians such as Eusebius (260-349 AD), John Chrysostom (c. 347-407 AD), and John Damascene (c. 676-749 AD).<sup>26</sup>

### *Other terms*

Nonetheless, other terms were also used during the same period, such as the term *kerographia* ('painting with wax'), used by Callisthenes from Rhodos and quoted by Athenaeus who lived in the late second and early third centuries.<sup>27</sup> Theodosius, the bishop of Amorion in Asia Minor used the words *chromatourgia*

('work with colours') and *chromatike zographia* ('painting in colour') at the Seventh Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 787,<sup>28</sup> although these words do not, in themselves, inform us about the details of those techniques. Descriptive phrases can also be found in primary sources. For example, the fourth-century poet Ausonius speaks of: 'burning the thresholds of the doors with wax // and the woodwork of the atrium.'<sup>29</sup> Procopius, the sixth-century historian, describes the main entrance to the Imperial Great Palace, the Chalke gate, with these words: 'The entire ceiling is decorated, not coated here with melted and poured wax, but rather furnished with tiny stones, decorated in all sorts of colours.'<sup>30</sup> In the seventh century, St Anastasius of Sinai provided an accurate definition: 'a painting is nothing other than wood and colours mixed and melted with wax.'<sup>31</sup> Constantine Chartophylax succinctly described the technique in the twelfth century when he wrote: 'neither did we choose to worship the essence which is above essence and before eternity with wax and boards.'<sup>32</sup>

### *Hylographia*

One of these additional terms is *hylographia* which, according to Du Cange, 'younger writers' began to use in order to differentiate the technique from mosaic.<sup>33</sup> The oldest among them is the aforementioned eighth-century bishop Theodosius who mentioned 'holy and worshiped pictures and illustrations, of *hylographia* and mosaic.'<sup>34</sup> A similar, albeit more complicated record is given by Theophanes, a Byzantine chronicler from the eighth and early ninth centuries, who says that: 'The same year (sc. 759, author's note) Niketas, the falsely named patriarch, carved down the patriarchic images of the small privy chamber in the patriarchal residence done in mosaic and brought down (the patriarchic images) from the large privy chamber known as the Tropic made of *hylographia*, and smeared the faces of the remaining images, and did the same in Abramiaion.'<sup>35</sup> The author of the manuscript *Vitae S. Theodori Syceotae* uses the verbal form 'a *hylographed* image',<sup>36</sup> while the eleventh-century chronicler Skylitzes uses an adjective derived from the noun *hylographia*: 'hylographic picture.'<sup>37</sup>

### *Hyle*

The first part of the compound, the word *hyle*, can appear in isolation as well as in the context of pictures. An example from John Damascene is very clear: 'when we see a picture of Christ crucified... it is not the material that we are bowing down to, but to

that which is pictured.<sup>38</sup> In John's opinion, therefore, *hyle* is simply *materia* (the material), which refers to the whole picture and he does not differentiate the base from that which is applied to it.

Some of Du Cange's examples agree with John Damascene's understanding of the term; for example, one may examine the following citation of the Byzantine patriarch and historian Nikephoros (c. 758-828): 'a bodily similarity to the Mother of God, with the help of material.'<sup>39</sup> In another quote from this writer the noun *hyle* is used in conjunction with the adjective *kerochyptos* ('of melted wax') which narrows down the basic meaning of 'material' to that of the 'wax mixture' with which the pictures are made: 'he scraped the picture of our Saviour and of the saints that were (made) of small golden stones and of melted wax material.'<sup>40</sup> John, the Patriarch of Jerusalem (most likely the one from the tenth century)<sup>41</sup> had the same thought when he wrote about a painter's hand: 'he uses the most excellent materials in an excellent way.'<sup>42</sup> The eighth-century Byzantine Patriarch Germanus speaks in a similar manner: 'not only with *materials*, but also with a shape which is rendered with *materials*.'<sup>43</sup> The aforementioned Bishop Theodosius seems to understand the meaning of the word in a narrow sense when he refers to the substance used to paint figures, rather than the material they were painted on: 'a picture... of all kinds of *materials*, gold and silver and all sorts of activities in colours.'<sup>44</sup> Placing the divine and the secular in opposition, the document *Pseudosynodus Graecorum contra Imagines* uses the adjective *hylikos* ('material') as follows: 'to depict the undepictible essence and nature of the word of God using *material* colours.'<sup>45</sup>

It is not easy to discern the meaning of the word *hyle* in each case; for example, when Theodorus, the eighth-century Patriarch of Jerusalem, mentions 'not encouraging worship with the help of *hyle* and colour.'<sup>46</sup> From this it is evident that he distinguishes between *hyle* and colour. Here, *hyle* could refer to a wax substance into which colours are added, but it could also perhaps refer to the (wooden) base onto which the paintings were painted even though *hyle* had not been used to mean 'wood' since the Patristic era.<sup>47</sup> It is possible that *hyle* and colours are not equal terms; instead, *hyle* seems to have a wider range of meaning which includes colour. If so, perhaps the quotation from Theodorus should be understood to mean 'worship primarily with the help of material, (or most often, rather) with the help of colour'? An example from the manuscript *Anonymus Combefisianus in*

*Porphyrog.* is even more mysterious: 'in the hall of the imperial sleeping-chamber [were] prepared excellent mosaic pictures of colour, materials and shapes.'<sup>48</sup> Is it more likely that the material in question (*hyle*) refers to the mosaic *tesserae* in this case?

The case of the tenth-century Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus is special; in the *Vita Basilii* he used the adjective *enylos* (for which the Liddell-Scott dictionary gives the meaning of 'involved or implicated in matter'): 'decorating the ceiling with *enylois* pictures.'<sup>49</sup> What is the issue here? The Emperor must have used the adjective not in the late classical sense which Liddell and Scott mentioned, but in the new sense of the word; therefore, Du Cange was right when he commented that: 'It seems that Porphyrogenitus himself understood (...) not painted wooden boards, but rather the *technique* of painting.'<sup>50</sup> This would simply mean that the ceiling was painted with the hylographic technique.

From the aforementioned examples it is not obvious what the exact meaning of *hyle* in the compound *hylographia* is, nor why it replaced the term *kerographia* or, rather, *enkaustika*. There are two possible explanations: either the word *hyle*, through Aristotle's use of it to mean 'material', gained a more narrow meaning of 'painting material', or it retained its former meaning of 'wood' given that *hylographia* was usually applied to wooden backgrounds. Du Cange concluded that the word retained both meanings.<sup>51</sup>

#### *Hylographia and Mosaic*

Du Cange also concluded that the word *hylographia* was used when writers wanted to distinguish it from mosaic. Judging from Theodosius' phrase ('holy and revered paintings and images, both made of *hylographia* and of mosaic') and that of Theophanes ('pictures that were made of mosaic and (...) which were made of *hylographia*'), it seems that in the early medieval Byzantium there were *two* main painting techniques used for the painting of holy images. The above mentioned Patriarch Nikephoros makes a distinction between the two in a similar manner when, in the ninth century, he writes about the same event as Theophanes but, instead of *hylographia*, he uses the term *kerochyptos graphe*: 'pictures (...) which were made up of golden stones and of melted wax material.'<sup>52</sup> This also provides evidence that his term *kerochyptos graphe* and Theophanes' *hylographia* are synonymous.

Other documents also regularly mention the two types of two-dimensional representations although they do not use the term *hylographia* nor the word

wax. For example, the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787) mentions 'all figural painting, either on boards or on mosaics on walls...' In addition to distinguishing between these two techniques, the Acts also directly refers to the *base* in painting. It is once again made obvious that walls are intended for mosaic while wooden boards are intended for painting in the strict sense of the word, even though the painting technique itself was not specifically mentioned.

Nonetheless, it is possible that the word *hylographia* was used in the general meaning of 'painting' primarily because this was the most widespread technique: the *Anonymus MS de cultu imaginum* records that: 'The nature of *hylographia* is one thing, the nature of Christ another...',<sup>53</sup> and it can be assumed that here the nature of *hylographia* must have referred to artistic depictions of Christ in general.

### Base

It seems that encaustic art from antiquity onward indeed implies painting on a wooden base, as is mentioned in an inscription: 'THE PAINTING OF THE WALLS AND CEILING AND THE ENCAUSTIC ART OF THE DOOR.'<sup>54</sup> It is logical to conclude that a different technique was used for doors since they were made of different materials. Ausonius' verses seem to confirm this: 'burning the threshold of the door with wax // and the wood of the atria',<sup>55</sup> assuming that the thresholds were also made of wood. A somewhat later source, John Chrysostom, says in his homily: 'they worship neither the panel nor the picture of melted wax, but the meaning of the emperor.'<sup>56</sup> The picture in question is a portrait of the emperor that was carried in processions and so it is impossible that the base in this context was a wall. In the seventh century, Anastasius of Sinai defined an obviously prevalent method of artistic impression: 'a picture is nothing more than wood and colours mixed and melded with wax.'<sup>57</sup> Even Germanus, the eighth-century Patriarch of Constantinople expressed himself in a similar manner in the context of the iconoclasm debate, but, without mentioning the technique by name: 'one does not kneel before a mixture of boards and colours, but before God, who is invisible.'<sup>58</sup> Constantine Chartophylax wrote in a similar manner as John Chrysostom: 'neither did we choose to worship the essence which is above essence and before eternity with *wax* and *boards*.'<sup>59</sup>

When discussing the materials used for backgrounds in *hylographia*, Du Cange, states that *hylographia* can be made on 'any sort of material.'<sup>60</sup>

However, apart from wood, he only mentions a few examples of pictures on canvases, and a somewhat unclear phrase by Bishop Theodosius ('a picture... of all sorts of materials, gold and silver and all of the activities in colours'), without providing a single example of wall paintings (either on walls themselves or ceilings) which is what interests us most.<sup>61</sup>

We have noted that Procopius described the entrance to the Great Palace: 'the whole ceiling boasts of its pictures, not having been fixed with *wax melted* and applied to the surface, but set with tiny cubes of stone beautifully coloured in all hues.' It would seem that such a phrase implies the possibility of ceilings painted in the encaustic (wax) technique (but also the fact that mosaics were valued more than encaustics), which is important to bear in mind before discussing the manner in which the Cathedral of St Anastasia might have been painted. Du Cange, however, understands *ex enylon graphon*, the words Porphyrogenitus used to describe a wall his grandfather ordered to be constructed, to mean *painted walls*, even though he claimed that the accent was not on them, but on the method or, rather, the technique with which they were painted.<sup>62</sup> Therefore, the question of how ceilings were painted with *hylographia* remains open: were the colours applied to them directly, or were the wooden panels painted first and then attached to the ceiling surface? In *Lucca*, an eighth-century manuscript, there is record of colours being mixed with wax and applied to walls and wooden bases alike.<sup>63</sup> With regard to the same issue, the *Etymologicum* seems explicit when it states: 'Because the painters who decorate walls are called encaustic artists.'<sup>64</sup> Eastleake, on the other hand, explained this by noting that encaustic art was widely used from the early Christian period onward, and assumed that painters who used other wall-painting techniques were also called encaustic artists.<sup>65</sup> Nevertheless, the veracity of the *Etymologicum* is questionable since it was composed in a significantly later period.

### ARCHAIOS

There are two meanings attached to the translation of the term *archaios*: 'old-fashioned' and 'old', and both may be correct. The first meaning denotes a style perceived as old-fashioned in comparison to, for example, Constantinople, which again implies that works of art were being newly made; the second

meaning refers to the age of a product without making a distinction between its style and the material.

If we look for other examples of the use of the adjective *archaios* in *De Administrando Imperio*, there are seven more instances of it. Two examples refer to the age of towns,<sup>66</sup> two refer to names (of a people,<sup>67</sup> and of a country<sup>68</sup>), two examples pertain to mankind (one to friendship,<sup>69</sup> the other to evil<sup>70</sup>), and one example pertains to customs.<sup>71</sup> In *all* of the examples the adjective has the same meaning of 'old' and not 'old-fashioned'; it is likely that the same meaning was intended in the case of *hylographia* at Zadar.

## CONCLUSION

All in all, if we return to the topic of the Cathedral of St Anastasia and consider the original statement

that it was 'entirely painted with ancient *hylographia*', the first thing we can conclude is that the description refers to images painted in the encaustic technique. Since this technique is applied to wooden bases, it can also be concluded that the Cathedral of St Anastasia was filled with such pictures. Unfortunately, Porphyrogenitus did not use the noun 'pictures' but the verb 'to make pictures' instead, which also includes the possibility that the walls themselves and/or the ceiling/wooden beams were also painted. The theory that the word *hylographia* was used in *De Administrando Imperio* to convey a general meaning, as was the case in the *Anonymus MS de cultu imaginum* and the *Etymologicum* is even less likely. If it had been so, *hylographia* would refer to all other painting techniques except mosaic such as fresco and tempera. However, to date, no traces of colour have been found on the walls of Zadar Cathedral.<sup>72</sup>

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> This paper was written in conjunction with the MA seminar course on Constantine Porphyrogenitus, taught to students of Greek language and literature in the winter term of 2010/2011 at the Department of Classics at the University of Zadar, at the suggestion of Professor Pavuša Vežić from the Department of History of Art.
- <sup>2</sup> The comparison reveals that the writer of the text is someone who knows Constantinople well, an excellent point noted by SUIĆ, 1981, 6. We demonstrated on several occasions that this was a distinct writer who was responsible for all chapters focusing on Dalmatia except Chapter 30; see LONČAR, M., 2002a, 98-105; LONČAR, M., 2002b, 14 and 26.
- <sup>3</sup> The original text, in the best edition, JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 139 (29/278-284), reads: 'Ο δὲ ναὸς τῆς ἀγίας Ἀναστασίας ἐστὶν δρομικός, ὁμοίος <τῷ> τῶν Χαλκοπρατειῶν ναῷ, μετὰ κίωνων πρασίνων καὶ λευκῶν, ὅλος εἰκονισμένος ἐξ ὕλογραφίας ἀρχαίας· ὁ δὲ πάτος αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἀπὸ συγκοπῆς θαυμαστῆς.
- <sup>4</sup> MEURSIUS, J., 1611, 87.
- <sup>5</sup> MEURSIUS, J., 1611 (Notae in Constantinum), 29: ἐξ ἡλιγραφίας] Scribe, ἐκ στηλογραφίας. The reading had already been corrected by Banduri see: MIGNE, J. P., 1864, 113, col. 269, footnote 44.
- <sup>6</sup> MIGNE, J. P., 1864, col. 270. (First translation published by BANDURI, A., 1711)
- <sup>7</sup> See LAMPE, G. W. H., 1961, s. v.: 1. *fashion...* 2. *represent, portray...*
- <sup>8</sup> MIGNE, J. P., 1864, col. 269, footnote 44: *cum cera et coloribus in quavis materia.*
- <sup>9</sup> TOMAŠIĆ, N., 1994, 77. (First translation published by TOMAŠIĆ, N., 1918)
- <sup>10</sup> ŠIŠIĆ, F., 1990, 444.
- <sup>11</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 139.
- <sup>12</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1962, 111.
- <sup>13</sup> FERJANČIĆ, B., 1959, 24.
- <sup>14</sup> SUIĆ, M., 1981, 6.
- <sup>15</sup> MARTINOVIĆ, J., 1990, 30, 16.
- <sup>16</sup> LONČAR, M., 1999, 235-243. Instead of *hylographia*, the same paragraph contains another incorrect term - *chylographia*. We only discovered the errors eleven years after the article was published, as it was originally written in Croatian and then subsequently translated.
- <sup>17</sup> LONČAR, M., 1999, 237.
- <sup>18</sup> JAKŠIĆ, N., 2008, 187-194. Jakšić actually used the word *xylography* instead of *hylographia*, repeating it from our article *On the Description*, 237, which contained the translator's error.
- <sup>19</sup> JAKŠIĆ, N., 2008, 190.
- <sup>20</sup> JAKŠIĆ, N., 2008, 190.
- <sup>21</sup> VEŽIĆ, P., 2002, 52 and 117-118.
- <sup>22</sup> Suggested by Professor Pavuša Vežić in March 2012.
- <sup>23</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, cols. 647-652.
- <sup>24</sup> LIDDELL-SCOTT, H. G., 1940. s. v. ἔγκαυμα.
- <sup>25</sup> *Lib. 35, cap. 11*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 647.
- <sup>26</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, col. 648.
- <sup>27</sup> *Lib. 5 Dipnosoph.*, acc.: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649.
- <sup>28</sup> *Satisfactio*, DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649; in *Synodo VII Act. 4*, DU CANGE, *ibid.*
- <sup>29</sup> *Epigr. 26*, DU CANGE, 1688, col. 648. All translations from Greek throughout the paper are ours, unless otherwise stated, as is the use of italics.
- <sup>30</sup> *De aedificiis I*, 10, HAURY, J., 2001, 40, line 15. DU CANGE, 1688, cols 647 and 650: ἐναβρύνεται δὲ ταῖς γραφαῖς ἡ ὀροφὴ πᾶσα, οὐ τῷ κηρῷ ἐντακέντι τε καὶ διαχυθέντι ἐνταῦθα παγείσα, ἀλλ' ἐναρμοσθεῖσα ψηφίσι λεπταῖς τε καὶ χρώμασιν ὠραῖσμέναις παντοδαποῖς· αἱ δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ἀπομιμῶνται.
- <sup>31</sup> *Sermo de Sabbato*, DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649: τῆς εἰκόνης οὐδὲν ἕτερον οὐσης, ἢ ξύλον καὶ χρώματα κηρῶν μεμιγμένα καὶ κεκραμένα.
- <sup>32</sup> *Homil. in SS. Martyres*, DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: οὔτε κηρῷ καὶ ξύλοις τὴν περούσιον καὶ προσάναρχον οὐσίαν τιμᾶν ἡμεῖς ἐγνώκαμεν.
- <sup>33</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649.
- <sup>34</sup> In *VII. Synodo Act. 4*, DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649: Αἱ ἅγιοι καὶ σεβάσμιαι εἰκόνες καὶ ζωγραφίαι, καὶ ὕλογραφαί, καὶ διὰ μουσείων.
- <sup>35</sup> *An. 17 Copron.*, DU CANGE, 1688, cols 649-650: Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει Νικητὰς ὁ ψευδόνυμος πατριάρχης τὰς ἐν πατριαρχεῖᾳ εἰκόνας τοῦ μικροῦ σεκρέτου διὰ μουσαίου οὐσας ἔξεσεν, καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου σεκρέτου τῆς τροπικῆς ἐξ ὕλογραφίας οὐσας κατένηγκεν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν εἰκόνων τὰ πρόσωπα ἔχρισεν, καὶ ἐν τῷ Ἀβραμαίῳ δὲ ὁμοίως πεποίηκεν.
- <sup>36</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650.
- <sup>37</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: ἀφομοίωμα ὕλογραφημένον.
- <sup>38</sup> *De fide orthodoxa* 4.16, cited in: LAMPE, G. W. H., 1961, s.v. *hyle*: τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς Χριστοῦ σταυρώσεως ἰδόντες... προσκυνοῦμεν οὐ τῇ ὕλῃ ἀλλὰ τῷ εἰκονισμένῳ.
- <sup>39</sup> *Disputat. cum Leone Armenio de imaginib.*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: τὴν τῆς Θεομήτορος σαρκικὴν δι' ὕλης ἐμφέρειαν.
- <sup>40</sup> *Hist.*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 648: τοῦ σωτῆρος καὶ τῶν ἁγίων οὐσας διὰ ψηφίδων χρυσῶν καὶ κηροχύτου ὕλης εἰκονογραφίας ἀπέξυσε.
- <sup>41</sup> See O'CONNOR, J. B., 1910. Accessed 13 March 2011 from New Advent: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08459b.htm>.
- <sup>42</sup> *Vita S. Joannis Damasceni*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: περιφανέσταται ταῖς ὕλαις κέχρηται λαμπρῶς.
- <sup>43</sup> *Homil. in I. Dominicam Jejuniorum*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: οὐχ ἀπλῶς ταῖς ὕλαις, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἐμφαινόμενῃ ταῖς ὕλαις μορφῇ.
- <sup>44</sup> In *Libello satisfactionis*, in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 651: τὴν εἰκόνα... ἐκ παντοίας ὕλης, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ πάσης χρωματουργίας.
- <sup>45</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: δι' ὕλικῶν χρωμάτων τὴν ἀπερίγραφον τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγον οὐσίαν καὶ ὑπόστασιν περιγράφειν.

- <sup>46</sup> In *Synodico*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: οὐ τῇ ὕλῃ καὶ τοῖς χρώμασι τὸ σέβας προσάγοντες.
- <sup>47</sup> See LAMPE, G. W. H, 1961, s. v., and John Damascene: Σεβῶ τὴν ὕ. ... καὶ προσκυνῶ, δι' ἧς ἡ σωτηρία μου γέγονε. σεβῶ δὲ, οὐχ ὡς θεόν, ἀλλ' ὡς θείας ἐνεργείας καὶ χάριτος ἐμπλεων. ἢ οὐχ ὕ. τὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον; ('I worship and bow down to *the material* by which my salvation occurred, but I don't worship it as I do God, but as (a material) full of divine energy and love; is not the wood of the cross *material*?'; *De sacris imaginibus orationes* 2.14, cited in: LAMPE, *ibid.* ad 4). The example clearly shows that *hyle* does not mean 'wood' any more, but has undergone semantic broadening.
- <sup>48</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, col. 651: καὶ μουσοστίκτων εἰκόνων ἐντέχνων, τῶν ἐκ χρωμάτων, ὕλων, καὶ μορφῶν τὸ διάφορον ἐν τοῖς προπυλαίοις τοῦ βασιλικοῦ κοιτώματος ἐδείματο.
- <sup>49</sup> *Basilius* num. 85 Edit. Combesisii, DU CANGE, 1688, col. 651: ἐξ ἐνύλων γραφῶν καταγλαϊσμένος τὴν ὁροφὴν.
- <sup>50</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, col. 651: *Idem Porphyrogenitus ... non tam Tabellas ligneas pictas, quam in iis pingendi rationem videtur intellexisse.*
- <sup>51</sup> DU CANGE, 1688, cols. 650-651.
- <sup>52</sup> *Hist.*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 648; greek text in footnote 40.
- <sup>53</sup> *Anonymus MS de cultu imaginum*, ex Cod. Reg. 1595, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 651: ἄλλο γὰρ φύσεις ὑλογραφίας, καὶ ἄλλο τοῦ Χριστοῦ.
- <sup>54</sup> Noted by LAURENTIUS PIGNORIUS, *Explicat. Mensae Isiacae* pag. 32, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649: ΤΗΝ ΓΡΑΦΗΝ ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΤΟΙΧΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΟΦΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΓΚΑΥΣΙΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΥΡΩΝ.
- <sup>55</sup> *Epigr.* 26, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 648: *Ceris inurens januarum limina, // Et atriorum pegmata..*
- <sup>56</sup> *Homil. εἰς Νιπτῆρα Feriae quintae*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 648: οὐ σανίδα τιμῶσιν, οὐδὲ τὴν κηρόχυτον γραφήν, ἀλλὰ τὸν χαρακτῆρα βασιλέως.
- <sup>57</sup> *Sermo de Sabbato*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649: τῆς εἰκόνης οὐδὲν ἕτερον οὔσης, ἢ ξύλον καὶ χρώματα κηρῶν μεμιγμένα καὶ κεκραμένα.
- <sup>58</sup> *Ad Thomam Episc. Claudiopoleos*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650: οὐ τῶν ξύλων καὶ τῶν χρωμάτων προσκυνεῖται ἡ μῖξις, ἀλλ' ὁ ἀόρατος Θεός.
- <sup>59</sup> *Homil. in SS. Martyres*, cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 650; greek text in footnote 32.
- <sup>60</sup> *in quavis materia*; DU CANGE, 1688, cols. 649-651.
- <sup>61</sup> *Satisfactio*, cited in : DU CANGE, 1688, col. 651; greek tekst in footnote 44.
- <sup>62</sup> See footnote 50.
- <sup>63</sup> EASTLAKE, C. L., 2001, 169 and footnote ‡: "Ita memoramus... operationes quae in parietibus, simplice in ligno, cera commixtis coloribus", &c...
- <sup>64</sup> *Etymologicum magnum* (from the mid-twelfth century; according to Eastlake, from the fifteenth), cited in: DU CANGE, 1688, col. 649: ἐγκεκαυμένη, ἐζωγραφημένη, ἐπεὶ ἔγκαιται λέγονται οἱ ζωγράφοι, οἱ διαγράφοντες τοὺς τεῖχους. EASTLAKE, C. L., 2001, 150-151.
- <sup>65</sup> EASTLAKE, C. L., 2001, 150-151.
- <sup>66</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 116-117 (27/50): Πρώτον δὲ κάστρον ὑπῆρχεν ἀρχαῖον καὶ μέγα ἡ Κάπυα ('The first city, ancient and mighty, was Capua'); 27/58, *ibid.*: Ἡ δὲ Νεάπολις ἦν ἀρχαῖον πραιτώριον ('Naples was anciently the praetorium').
- <sup>67</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 170-173 (38/28): οἱ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Τούρκων ἀρχαίαν ἐπωνυμίαν καλοῦνται Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι ('and they to this day are called by the ancient denomination of the Turks 'Sabartoi asphaloi)').
- <sup>68</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 284-285 (53/504): Τὸ δὲ Χαμούχ ἐστὶν ὄνομα τοῦ συστησαμένου ἀρχαίου ἀνδρὸς τὸ χωρίον ('Chaomuch is the name of the man of olden times who founded the village').
- <sup>69</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 242-243 (50/209): Ὡς ἀρχαῖόν σου φίλον εὐεργετεῖν με πρέπον ἐστίν ('As I am your old friend, it is fitting you should do me a favour').
- <sup>70</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 130-131 (29/159): ἐπιλαθόμενος δὲ τῆς ἀρχαίας αὐτοῦ κακίας ('But, mindful of his ancient malice').
- <sup>71</sup> JENKINS, R. J. H., 1967, 226-227 (48/15): καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν ('and shall be appointed by his own bishops, according to ancient custom').
- <sup>72</sup> According to Professor Pavuša Vežić, one of the foremost experts of the history of the Cathedral of St Anastasia.



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## Sažetak

## HYLOGRAPHIA (*De Adminstrando Imperio*, 29/280)

Opisujući u *De administrando imperio* zadarsku katedralu Svete Stošije Konstantin Porfirogenet kazao je, između ostaloga, kako je „sva oslikana drevnom hilografijom”. U pokušaju boljeg razumijevanja nametnula su se tri pitanja: na prvom mjestu što je sama hilografija, zatim na što bi se konkretno odnosio opis da je crkva „sva oslikana”, te najzad značenje izraza *archaios*: „drevan, star” ili „starinski”.

Najprije su razmotreni prijevodi dotičnog mjesta, iz čega je proizašao zaključak kako se autori odlučuju uglavnom za dva shvaćanja pojma *hylographia*, u užem smislu - za tehniku enkaustike ili u širem - za opće značenje „slika”. Potom su propitani izvorni navodi o tehnici enkaustike i o njezinim nazivima, posebno o nazivu *hylographia*, prvenstveno na temelju opširne Du Cangeove natuknice u njegovu djelu *Glossarium mediae et infimae Graecitatis*. Pokazalo se da se za enkaustiku u ranom srednjem vijeku ustalio naziv *hylographia*, te da je on mogao imati i šire značenje, koje je obuhvaćalo sve slikarske tehnike osim mozaika.

Hilografija se ostvarivala u najvećem broju slučajeva na drvenoj podlozi, a rijetko na platnu ili na zidu. Stoga je i naš zaključak uobičen sukladno tome. Najvjerojatnije su u Svetoj Stošiji posrijedi bile drvene površine oslikane tehnikom enkaustike, no nije

nemoguće ni da je riječ o zidovima ukrašenim nekom drugom tehnikom izuzevši mozaik.

Najmanje se vjerojatnom čini izazovna pretpostavka Nikole Jakšića kako bi se opis odnosio na oslikanu i izrezbarenu krovnu konstrukciju. Hipoteza se oslanja na analogiju s ukrašenim dijelovima srednjovjekovnih greda pronađenih u Svetom Donatu. Teško je, međutim, vjerovati da se izrazom kako je crkva „sva oslikana” misli na krovnu konstrukciju. Budući da je pisac izrijekom opisao mozaikalni pod i raznobojne stupove, bilo bi za očekivati da isto tako navede i krovšte, kad bi se o njemu zaista i radilo. Stoga mislimo da se horizontalni pojas katedrale ne može isključiti iz kombinacije. Bez njega izraz „sva oslikana” ne bi imao smisla.

Odgovor na pitanje je li oznakom *archaios* autor mislio na staru ili starinsku hilografiju proizlazi iz usporedbe s uporabom toga pojma na ostalih sedam mjesta u *De administrando imperio*. Naime, u svim tim primjerima značenje je pridjeva „drevan” ili „star”, a nikada „starinski”, pa se i odgovor na naše pitanje čini nedvosmislenim.

*Ključne riječi:* Konstantin Porfirogenet, *De administrando imperio*, Zadar, Sveta Stošija, *hylographia*, *enkaustika*, *archaios*